



Kenneth Schultz



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"Could Humphrey Have Gone to China?
Measuring the Electoral Costs and Benefits of
Making Peace"

Tuesday, October 5, 2004
12:00 p.m.
Mershon Center
Room 120

Theoretical arguments for why "it takes a Nixon to go to China" emphasize either the superior credibility that hawks have in advocating peace or the superior political benefits they enjoy in doing so. This paper looks for evidence of these effects in the canonical case: that of U.S. rapprochement with China in the early 1970s. I use counterfactual simulations on data from the 1968 National Election Study to explore the political effects of a proposal to open relations with China, focusing on whether and how those effects would depend on who made the proposal: Richard Nixon or Hubert Humphrey. I find evidence of both the credibility and electoral security effects hypothesized in the theoretical literature. In particular, there is a very dramatic asymmetry in the political costs and benefits of proposing peace: while such a proposal would have been electorally costly for Humphrey, it could have been an electoral boon for Nixon.

Kenneth Schultz (Ph.D., Stanford) won the 2001 Edgar S. Furniss Book Award for his first book, *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy* (Cambridge UP, 2001). He was previously on the faculties of Princeton and UCLA before moving to Stanford, where he is currently Associate Professor of Political Science.

Schultz' primary research looks at the impact of domestic politics and institutions on international relations and his work has appeared in many leading journals, including *International Organization*, *the Journal of Conflict Resolution*, and the *American Political Science Review*. In addition to the Furniss Book Award, his research has earned him many accolades, including the Helen Dwight Reid Award for best doctoral dissertation in the field of international relations and the 2003 Warren Miller Prize, Political Methodology Section, American Political Science Association (co-recipient with Jeffrey B. Lewis).

Please R.S.V.P. to Viki Jones if you plan to attend this event.